[5/23/78-Not Submitted] [CF, O/A 548]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Bill - touch
- no problem
base w/ SC + JW
[illegible]
- make
offer - then in
I cannot
no problem
w/ this

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5/23

W. Madison by STR
per Ralph Gerson

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

HOLD

Gould has problem
w/ Thur.

~~C.S. to Strauss on telephone~~
SW does have probs

HOLD until After
EPG mtg on Thurs

Ralph 5/22
will contact to
23 - guess
looking on 14
- will call
pm

Vera will
call SRI
AM w/ status
memo

ID 782574

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DATE: 17 MAY 78

FOR ACTION:

CHARLIE SCHULTZE

INFO ONLY: THE VICE PRESIDENT
STU EIZENSTAT
HAMILTON JORDAN
FRANK MOORE (LES FRANCIS)
JODY POWELL
JACK WATSON
ANNE WEXLER
JIM MCINTYRE

SUBJECT: STRAUSS MEMO RE TASK FORCE - INFLATION

RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052)

BY:

ACTION REQUESTED: YOUR COMMENTS

STAFF RESPONSE: ( ) I CONCUR. ( ) NO COMMENT. ( ) HOLD.

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR
TRADE NEGOTIATIONS
WASHINGTON

May 16, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Ambassador Robert S. Strauss

We need something to give additional credibility to my public statements in speeches and press conferences that "President Carter has instructed me to take every reasonable step to encourage the agencies of Government to get their own house in better order in the fight against inflation. He is determined that we shall not turn back on achieving our goals nor abdicate our responsibility in the areas of social concern but that we shall seek to reach and achieve them with better, more effective, and more efficient administrative efforts."

I would like to suggest that you appoint a task force to work with me in dealing with agencies and departments. The group could be made up of a fellow like Charlie Ferris, Chairman of the FCC, an independent regulatory authority; Doug Costle from EPA; the Deputy Secretary of Treasury; the Deputy Secretary of Defense; Bosworth; and one or two others.

It would be a sort of ad hoc committee that Barry, Charlie and I could meet with every couple of weeks as they encouraged various departments to come up with "something for the inflation pot." It's my intention to bring this up at the EPG meeting Thursday for their reaction. I have already discussed it with Stu who likes the idea and Schultze who is not negative.

Frankly, I am not too concerned if this group steps on a few toes and pushes for a little action. If they don't, we won't see much in the way of results.

WASHINGTON

DATE: 10 MAY 78

FOR ACTION: TIM KRAFT nc PHIL WISE Df

to be done 5/23

INFO ONLY: FRANK MOORE JODY POWELL

FRAN VOORDE

SUBJECT: MCINTYRE CAMPBELL MEMO RE PRESENTATION OF PRESIDENTIAL MANAGEMENT IMPROVEMENT AWARDS

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+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +

+ BY: 1200 PM FRIDAY 12 MAY 78 +

++++++++++++++++++++ ++++++++++++++++++++ ++++++++++++++++++++

ACTION REQUESTED:

STAFF RESPONSE: ( ) I CONCUR. ( ) NO COMMENT. ( ) HOLD.

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

MAY 0 9 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Jim McIntyre and Scotty Campbell

SUBJECT: Presentation of Presidential Management Improvement Awards

Last October, you approved a program to recognize Federal employees who have made significant contributions toward improving the Government's performance. The best of these are to receive Presidential Management Improvement Awards at a White House ceremony.

We recommend that you personally present these awards at a brief ceremony during the week of May 22--about the time the civil service reform legislation goes to mark-up. Stu Eizenstat and Dick Pettigrew concur that your personal participation in the ceremony would demonstrate your continuing interest in improving the bureaucracy and would provide added momentum to your legislative proposals.

We are reviewing the nominations submitted by Cabinet officers and agency heads to identify the seven (the number you indicated you would like to award) best nominees in terms of the significance of their contributions and the extent to which they represent the diversity of the Federal workforce.

If you agree to present the awards, we will work with Jody and Frank to assure appropriate coverage.

Approve: _____ Disapprove _____

ID 782444 THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DATE: 10 MAY 78

FOR ACTION: TIM KRAFT PHIL WISE

INFO ONLY: FRANK MOORE JODY POWELL

FRAN VOORDE

SUBJECT: MCINTYRE CAMPBELL MEMO RE PRESENTATION OF PRESIDENTIAL MANAGEMENT IMPROVEMENT AWARDS

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+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +

+ BY: 1200 PM FRIDAY 12 MAY 78 +

++++++++++++++++++++ ++++++++++++++++++++ ++++++++++++++++++++

ACTION REQUESTED:

STAFF RESPONSE: ( ) I CONCUR. (X) NO COMMENT. ( ) HOLD.

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

ID 782444 THE WHITE HOUSE

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Approve: _____ Disapprove _____

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1978

not submitted

MEMO TO: RICK HUTCHESON

FROM: GRIFFIN SMITH

A friend of mine who works on Andy Young's staff has asked me to pass this copy of one of his speeches along to the President. I would like to oblige, but I will rely on your judgment.

THE RISING TIDE OF HOPE

Our ambassador to the United Nations sets an agenda for the human rights movement.

Magnum Photos/Mark Godfrey

BY ANDREW YOUNG

Hubert Humphrey once said that "human rights is what the United States is all about." As we read the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it's obvious that that is also what the U.N. is all about.

As President Carter said on October 5, 1977, when he signed the two human rights covenants at the U.N.:

"Of the many affinities between the United States and the United Nations, perhaps the most important is that both had their origins in a vision of the greatness of the human possibility.

"The American Declaration of Independence speaks of the idea that, and I quote, '...all men are created equal,... endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'

"The Charter of the United Nations speaks of 'faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.' "

But I think we can go further—and make a categorical statement: *All* governments should be dedicated to the pursuit of human rights and dignity for *all* persons and

Ambassador Young, an ordained minister in the United Church of Christ, is a former associate of Martin Luther King Jr. in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a former congressperson from Georgia.

peoples. When we forget this we run a serious risk of letting governments become ends in themselves or even enemies of human rights. The ship of state exists for the passengers, not for the crew or the ship itself.

Our own Bill of Rights and the U.N.'s Universal Declaration of Human Rights spell out with sufficient detail and clarity the basic specifics and definitions of human rights for most purposes. These two documents should be required study for all school children—not as documents of historical or intellectual interest alone, but as guidelines for future action by all societies.

I come out of several traditions that have always put human rights at the center of their activities and near the top of their value systems.

As an inheritor of the Judeo-Christian tradition, I look back to Moses as the leader of one of the first liberation movements: he led the children of Israel out of Egypt and away from Pharaoh's bondage.

As a black man, I am an inheritor of a tradition where people sang about freedom even while in slavery—and continued to sing "Oh, Freedom" in our own time, confronted with police dogs, bombings, and fire hoses.

As an American I remember with pride that in World War II our nation resisted the tide of Fascism in Europe, Africa, and Asia. And, as an American, I see the Constitution as a basic framework for protecting human rights within the rule of law.

These three legacies have converged for me in my present job at the United Nations. Because the American people wanted a foreign policy that reflected our national belief in human rights and dignity, and because President Carter promised a foreign policy that was as good and decent as are the American people, I can be true to my threefold heritage and try to fulfill the role of a United States Ambassador at the same time. Our national values and our national foreign policy are coming together in our policy on human rights.

In formulating our human rights foreign policy, we start from some very basic premises—that all persons and all peoples desire freedom and justice for themselves and realize that their freedom is never secure until all others have freedom and justice as well.

We also believe that all peoples are basically capable of self-government, and that democracy and human rights are not Western inventions, but to paraphrase Reinhold Niebuhr are made possible by our potential for goodness and made necessary by our potential for evil.

We Americans have always believed that rule by law and rule by democratic majority are not only compatible but mutually reinforcing, and that they are the surest defense of human rights and dignity. Not only from our own history but from observation of the experiences of other peoples, we know that no people can depend with certainty on the good will of a king, a general, a dictator, an entrenched elite, another class, or another race to give them their human rights or their freedom or their dignity.

Every people and every nation must build and protect its own democratic society if it is to guarantee human rights and dignity for all its own citizens, if it is to be a positive support rather than an obstacle in the struggle for a world order of law and justice.

In the world today at least two thirds of the people lack some of the basic human needs, and three fourths are denied most of the basic human civil and political rights. Under such circumstances it seeems difficult to be very optimistic about progress in the field of basic human needs and human rights.

Indeed, it can be argued that democracy and decency are on the defensive, isolated in a hostile world. Some people see the United Nations as the proof of this proposition.

I see the U.N., especially as reflected in the 1977 session of the General Assembly, in a very different way. The U.N. is the center of a struggle to create a new world consensus based on a broader understanding of human rights and freedom than a purely Western vision.

I believe that the United Nations is one of the critical crucibles in which this new global approach to development and democracy is being formulated and tested.

It is necessary to have a sense of general strategy if we are to have any hope of utilizing our limited resources in an effective way in the struggle for freedom and human rights.

We can't expect to fight every battle at the same time, much less win every battle, especially in the early phases of our struggle. It is critical that we act as catalysts to assist all the peoples of the world in a common effort.

What are the key struggles in the world today that must be won to make possible the strengthening of the human rights movement?

1. *The realization that economic, social, cultural, civil, and political rights are interdependent and interrelated.*

For too long the United Nations community has been locked into a sterile and false confrontation inspired by the cold war, between those who insisted that civil and political rights must come first, and those who argued that those rights must wait until basic economic development had been achieved.

We now see clearly that no rights are secure until all are secure. This means we must broaden our struggle for human rights to include programs for economic and social justice as well as condemnations of those who torture political prisoners and close congresses and shut down newspapers.

A few months before he was murdered, Martin Luther King Jr. gave a series of lectures over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation network. He began one of these lectures by stating forthrightly: "Disinherited people all over the world are bleeding to death from deep social and economic wounds."

He went on to bring the problem home: "In our society

Religious News Service

Andrew Young III appears less excited than his father when President Jimmy Carter announces his choice for U.N. ambassador.

it is murder, psychologically, to deprive a man of a job or an income. You are in substance saying to that man that he has no right to exist. You are in a real way depriving him of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, denying in his case the very creed of his society. Now, millions of people are being strangled that way. The problem is international in scope. And it is getting worse, as the gap between the poor and the affluent society increases."

Those words were written in 1967. Now, more than a decade later, they are still tragically true. The misery of millions deepens. We do not need to be reminded of what happened to King's last great campaign to unite poor people and to awaken the conscience of America to the reality of poverty and how it defiles human dignity and makes freedom a mockery.

We do not need to be reminded how this nation lost its way in the morass of Vietnam and the quagmire of Watergate; how we lost for a while our sense of purpose and direction; and how during this period Martin Luther King Jr. lost his life—a victim in the war against poverty. He died as he lived, a nonviolent soldier in the cause of human rights, of economic justice for the sanitation workers of Memphis.

What Martin Luther King Jr. tried to tell us is what the Third World nations are trying to tell us: civil and political rights are necessary, but they are not enough.

If King were with us today he would still be talking about unemployment, because that is still a major domestic problem. Our commitment to human rights everywhere in the world will ring loud and hollow until we find better and more urgent ways of addressing that problem at home.

2. *Ratification of the U.N. Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights.*

Last October at the United Nations President Carter signed these two covenants as a prelude to their being submitted to the Senate for ratification sometime in the future. During the next few years it seems to me that the churches and synagogues of the United States have a very difficult but very important task in the preparation of the American people for considering the ratification of these two important treaties.

If there was ever a task upon which all the religious communities of the United States ought to be able to unite and mobilize their full resources, it should be this one.

The struggle for the ratification of these two covenants will give us a chance to see the interrelatedness and the in-

terdependence of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, and to see how they apply to our nation. In the reading of these two texts, we will all become newly aware of how far we still have to go to realize human rights, full dignity, and fundamental freedoms for all Americans.

3. *The independence of Namibia*

This small nation has struggled with dignity for years to gain its rightful spot among the nations of the world, against an efficient but very repressive South African occupation. Because Namibia is a Trust Territory of the United Nations, which South Africa has for many years refused to acknowledge, the independence of Namibia has become a symbol of the impotence but also of the potential of the United Nations.

When Namibia becomes independent, it will greatly enhance the drive for independence of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and hasten the advent of democracy in South Africa itself. The nations of Africa are waiting for this test of the seriousness of the Western powers and the United Nations to see if they can fully commit themselves to a new "human rights majority" in the United Nations.

4. *Human rights in Uganda*

Nowhere is the credibility of the international community's commitment to human rights more severely tested than in its capacity to confront the tragic consequences for the people of Uganda under the rule of Idi Amin. Only the other African nations can deal effectively with this problem, but they need the support and encouragement of the rest of us. When a firm international stand has been taken, led by other African nations, the human rights movement will gain much more credibility and momentum.

Martin Luther King Jr., Ralph Abernathy, and Andrew Young at memorial service in Selma for the Reverend James Reeb.

Religious News Service

5. *The return of democracy in Chile*

The tragic loss of freedom of the people of Chile in 1973, followed by the torture and disappearance of many political prisoners, shocked the world and the United Nations. With its long tradition of democracy, it is to be hoped that Chile will soon have a civilian, constitutional government. This will greatly encourage all other peoples who have suffered subversion of their democratic institutions in recent years.

6. *The establishment of democratic rule in Zimbabwe*

If this can be done in a fair, orderly, and peaceful manner, it will set a pattern for South Africa, and show the good faith of the Western powers. If Zimbabwe can achieve majority rule with protection for the freedom and rights of all its citizens, it will be a powerful argument for democratic rule and human rights.

7. *Ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties*

These are fair treaties, negotiated over many years under several U.S. presidents, between the world's most powerful nation and a small but proud country. Senate ratification of these treaties will go a long way to restoring our credibility in Latin America and righting an ancient wrong. With ratification, our human rights policy will become an even more powerful encouragement to the repressed peoples in Latin America, and there is reason to believe it will hasten the emergence of new democracies in the Western Hemisphere.

These issues certainly do not exhaust the list of basic human rights issues in the modern world. There are massive problems of hunger and malnutrition in some countries that deny many the basic human right of food. Torture and other forms of repression exist in many nations. Many countries, including our own, suffer from the problem of large-scale unemployment. Racism still blights the lives of millions. Most peoples in the world do not enjoy freedom of speech, nor the protection of an independent judicial system. And, of course, the basic obstacle to the realization of full human rights is still poverty.

Many governments refuse to admit they have any problems. Such arrogance is not only ill-founded, it seriously hinders the frank debate that is the key to democratic problem-solving. The United States can help diminish this problem by refusing to be provoked by criticisms, and by admitting candidly our problems as well as steadfastly defending our traditions and accomplishments in human rights.

The ambassador in action—in a meeting (above) and greeting William P. Thompson, who made a statement at a Security Council debate on South Africa.

A.D. will feature another article on human rights by Mr. Thompson, Stated Clerk of the United Presbyterian Church, in a fall issue.

We all know, for instance, that the Soviet Union harasses its dissidents and its Jewish population—and denies it while at the same time remaining very sensitive to any foreign criticism. We can take heart from the fact that the measured concern of President Carter has had a positive impact on Soviet sensitivities.

Another example of a country where there are continuing and well substantiated cases of human rights violations is South Korea. The jailing and silencing of those who dare to speak out against a dictatorial regime is an affront to all people who respect the concept of democratic government.

The President has said that we should not be afraid to advocate human rights and democracy in the world's forums. National interests must be recognized and protected, but national ideals also need to be defended. It is one of our national responsibilities to speak for those who cannot speak for themselves. We believe that democracy can best be promoted by example of persuasion. As a nation we must refuse to cooperate and support a government that oppresses its own people. It is our task, and our responsibility, to encourage others in their struggle while at the same time strictly refraining from interfering directly in the domestic affairs of other governments.

My office window looks out over the United Nations Plaza to the United Nations buildings and the East River beyond. I can see the colorful flags of almost 150 nations lining the plaza, together with the beautiful light blue flag of the United Nations itself. It is an impressive sight.

Just on the other side of the river, I can see the smoke of the factories where the work is done that makes it possible for the diplomats of the world to gather to discuss world problems. And I can make out the dim outlines, through the smog, of some of the blighted urban areas of greater New York City, where angry despair rules many lives, and where human rights and dignity are mocked. And I ask myself, what am I doing for those folks?

I know some people in the slums of New York City whose lives are not blighted by their circumstances. They have discovered and kept a larger dream of what it means to be human, and they know that dignity is the right of all persons and all peoples. These are the ones who are working for freedom—in many ways, in many difficult ways. And they are not alone.

All over the world there are people who are working for freedom, for justice, and for peace. Some of them do so in public view, like those of us at the United Nations. But the great majority are never mentioned in the press. Yet it is this great army of freedom fighters, scattered around the world, that finally will bring us significant progress and victory.

I try to look beyond the flags, beyond the U.N. buildings, beyond the East River and Brooklyn, to see the real freedom movement in the world today. I can feel, even in the protocol-inhibited halls of the United Nations, a rising tide of hope across the world today. Humankind was not destined to live forever in the midst of wars and poverty and repression. I believe we can find a better way.

There is a human rights movement in the world today, there is a freedom movement in the world today. It is unorganized, or at least it is not easily identified as one movement. But it is powerful because it is mounted on the wings of hope being born again. It is not the hope of the intellectual, or the diplomat, or of the politician that changes things. It is the hope of the great majority of disinherited and dispossessed, that once set loose will overcome the barriers and shackles that have caused such suffering for so long. AD